

American Abolition

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STATEMENTS

RESPECTING THE

AMERICAN ABOLITIONISTS;

BY

THEIR OPPONENTS AND THEIR FRIENDS:

INDICATING THE

PRESENT STRUGGLE BETWEEN SLAVERY AND FREEDOM

IN THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

COMPILED BY THE BRISTOL AND CLIFTON LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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Cornell Univ.

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STATEMENTS

RESPECTING THE

AMERICAN ABOLITIONISTS.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THESE counter-statements to portions of articles published in the *British Banner* of Jan. 28, Feb. 11, and March 24, 1852, have been collected to illustrate the vague and inconclusive nature of the accusations usually brought against American abolitionists, and the systematic misrepresentations to which their proceedings are subjected. Also to exhibit the disingenuousness of using detached passages from reports of speeches made by individuals on various occasions, as exponents of the principles of a society whose action is limited to a specific object.

The chief design of this pamphlet, however, is to neutralize the injustice done to the anti-slavery cause, by those who allege the "infidelity" of abolitionists, in order to screen the reluctance evinced by ministers of the Gospel "to proclaim the opening of the prison to them that are bound."

The following pages show that these charges are usually untrue; and that, even if they were true, they in no degree clear the character or justify the position of the pro-slavery Churches and Clergy of the United States. The abolitionists maintain that slavery is inevitably a compound of wickedness, cruelty, and injustice; that it is the "sum of all villainies;" that wherever such a system prevails, and is fostered by Church and State, morals, religion, justice, and liberty are in fearful danger; and that the truest friends of these blessings are not the Churches and Clergy who countenance or advocate the slave system, but the faithful few, who in the teeth of calumny, hatred, and hostility, have devoted their lives, fortunes, talents, and reputations to its overthrow.

In the United States of North America, property in human beings constitutes the greatest commercial "interest." The number of slaveholders is about 150,000. The value of slave property was estimated some years ago, by the Hon Henry Clay, an eminent American slaveholder, orator, statesman, and presidential candidate, at 1,200 millions of dollars, or £240,000,000 sterling. The institution of slavery is termed "their peculiar institution" by the Slave States, and as such is watched and guarded with the most jealous care. General George Mac Duffie, of South Carolina, declared that slavery is "the corner-stone of our Republican edifice," and that, if on his death-bed, he would be beneath its defence and preservation as a legacy to his children. The intercourse of the Free with the Slave States is so intimate, that their interests appear to be almost inextricably mingled. They are united in the closest manner by domestic, social, political, and religious ties. Northern ministers, merchants, teachers, physicians, and lawyers settle in the Slave States. The daughters of northern men marry slaveholders, and become the owners of slaves.

The Constitution of the United States, the charter by which the Union is maintained, contains many provisions for preserving their human property to the slaveholders, and pledging the Northern States to use their physical power for this purpose. The late Fugitive Slave Law was merely an Act to amend and confirm Acts already in existence, for the restoration of fugitives to bondage. In the United States, the preservation of the Union is considered essential to the national existence and prosperity; and attacks upon slavery are resented, not from an abstract love of the system, but because they alarm the Southern States and thus endanger the Union.

The following extracts quoted, by the "*New York Observer*" in January, 1852, from a Thanksgiving Sermon by the Rev Mr. Wadsworth, will illustrate the prevailing sentiment on this point:—

“ OUR GREATEST DANGER.

“ The Rev. Mr. Wadsworth, of Philadelphia, in his discourse on the Day of Thanksgiving, made the following pertinent and suggestive remarks:—

“ But the last and by far the largest source of anxiety to an American patriot, is self-destruction of our liberty in a dissolution of the Union. That the two great national confederacies can exist in this land, except as great military establishments, is impossible; and therefore the moment that sees us a dissevered brotherhood is the death-hour of political liberty everywhere. That there have been dangers of such dismemberment, no wise man can question, and our only security against it is the spread of a pure Gospel.

“ For, passing by all other causes of irritation, as just now secondary and subordinate, look for a moment at the influence which the Gospel of Christ would have in this great sectional controversy about slavery.

“ First, it would say to the Northern fanatic, who vapours about man-stealing as if there were no other evil under the sun but this one of slavery, ‘ Emulate the spirit of your blessed master and his apostles, who against this very evil in their times brought no railing accusation, but in one instance at least sent back a fugitive from the house of Philemon.’ It would say, ‘ Look well to your own neighbourhood and household, and see whether greater evils do not exist there, making yourselves pure ere you denounce your neighbour—working with the beam in your own eye, ere with the mote in your brother’s eye.’ It would say to every good man seeking practically the dismemberment of this great national confederacy, out of a pretended regard to the personal and religious rights of Southern bondsmen, ‘ Ye know not what spirit ye are of.’ In treating Southern Christian slaveholders with Christian courtesy, and sending back their fugitives when apprehended among you, you neither endorse the system nor partake of its evils; you are only performing in good faith the agreements and redeeming the pledges of your forefathers, and leaving to each man for himself to answer for his own act at the judgment-seat of Jesus. It would tear away from the man, as the foulest cloak of hypocrisy, that pretence of a religious principle in this whole matter of political abolition. Ah, my brethren, let this blessed Gospel have free course in the midst of us, and there would be no burning wrongs at the South to kindle Christian indignation; and there would be no standing place at the North for a malignant fanaticism.”

The Rev. Dr. Dewey, a very distinguished Unitarian minister, and a writer of celebrity, reiterated a few weeks ago, in a lecture before the Mercantile Library Association, a declaration he had made on former occasions:—

“ I would consent (he says) that my own brother, my own son should go [into slavery]—ten times rather would I go myself—than this Union should be sacrificed for me or for us; and I am ready to stand by this as a just and honourable sentiment, and can only wonder that any man should think it extravagant or ridiculous.”

This deliberate estimate of ministers in high social reputation, of the value of the Union to the United States, is believed to be merely a strong statement of the general opinion of that great country. As, then, the love of property at the South, and the supposed political interests of the whole country, make the preservation of slavery a cardinal object with the American people; we need not wonder that a large majority of the American visitors to this country are apologists for or defenders of the slave system; that we rarely meet one of them who is heartily hostile to it, or who does not consider its continuance preferable to the evils to be apprehended from the efforts of the abolitionists; that American clergymen, merchants, statesmen, ladies, and gentlemen—in short, all classes, with rare exceptions—dislike and avoid the discussion of the question; and that, while they object to slavery in general terms, they plead for its prolonged existence as the least of two evils.

In the *British and Foreign Anti-slavery Reporter* for April, 1852, it is stated that

“ Two-thirds of the Ministers and Churches of the various Christian denominations in the United States, give their sanction to the schemes of the Colonization Society, and are leagued with the slave-holders of the South in treading under foot the dearest rights of humanity, and in putting the ban of proscription on millions of their fellow-men and fellow-countrymen, on the ground of their colour.”

When such is the state of society in America, and such momentous interests are involved in the perpetuation of its existing institutions, we need feel no surprise that the Abolitionists are fiercely opposed; that their personal and religious characters are traduced, and their motives impugned; or that strenuous efforts are made by nearly all parties in the United States, to secure the sympathy and

assistance of their brethren in religious profession, or their equals in social position, in England, in order that the earnest courageous advocates of freedom shall fare no better in the estimation of Englishmen, than they do with the supporters of slavery in America. They labor assiduously, and with almost uniform success, to imbue the minds of English travellers in America with their prejudices; and the extent to which the letters and conversations of these parties, whether lay or clerical, tend to lower the tone of anti-slavery sentiment in this country, is most lamentable. They are heard palliating the guilt of slaveholding, softening the atrocities of slavery, and censuring those whose lives are devoted to the work of abolition; asserting the inferiority of the colored race; comparing slavery with the poverty and ignorance or other social evils prevalent in the old country, with which it has no parallel; and implying that because these great evils exist in England, a still greater, more mischievous, more insidious, and contaminating evil should remain unchecked in the United States. It seems as if a poison from the unhallowed institution were so diffused through the moral atmosphere of America, that even the spirit of freedom and the religious culture in which the British mind is ordinarily trained, are insufficient to protect it from contamination.

It is of extreme importance to the cause of emancipation, that its advocates should enlist the public opinion of civilized Europe on their side. But their opponents have hitherto succeeded to a great extent in intercepting the light of truth, in misleading the British people as to the actual relation of different parties to the cause, in evading investigation and remonstrance, and in creating prejudices against the friends of the slave. Their position is materially strengthened, and the Anti-slavery Movement seriously retarded, when, instead of rebuking the slaveholder, and urging American clergymen to "open their mouths for the dumb," the leaders of public sentiment in England are induced upon to repeat irrelevant charges against Abolitionists—condemning some for holding unorthodox views, others for speaking irreverently of a pro-slavery religious profession, and arguing inferentially, if not expressly, that it is better for slavery to continue undisturbed, than that it should be assailed by such opponents.

The following instances will illustrate the class of "Evidences" by which the *anti-christian* sentiments of the advocates of freedom, and the *anti-slavery* character of their accusers, are substantiated. While these are continually supplied by American ministers, accepted by their English brethren, re-published in leading journals, and circulated by parties who hold a high reputation as philanthropists and Christians; the testimony uttered by the most uncompromising abolitionists in the United States, and the *faithful* versions of their proceedings, are excluded from our religious press, and from the *British and Foreign Anti-slavery Reporter*.

A knowledge of the influences exerted to intercept the truth will, it is hoped, induce unprejudiced friends of freedom and religion in this country, to accept with caution anti-slavery *professions* from American religionists, unaccompanied by proofs of *ecclesiastical action* against slavery; to search *accredited* records, before hastily rejecting as "infidels" men who live in the fulfilment of the Saviour's precept, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them;" and, above all, to refrain from inadvertently strengthening the hands of American apologists for slavery, by echoing their pleas (disguised under the cloak of zeal for religion) for refusing to co-operate in the Christian work of emancipation.

 The Statements and Counter-statements in the following pages are arranged in parallel columns. When the authorities quoted in favour of the Abolitionists exceed the limits of the column, they are continued in lines the full width of the page.

THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY AND THE CHURCHES.

AGAINST.

British Banner, Jan. 28, 1852.

“The American Anti-slavery Society was formed in 1833. In 1839-40, a schism arose in that body in what is technically called the ‘Woman’s Rights Question,’ &c. In other words, the separation took place in consequence of a deliberate and well-matured design on the part of Mr. Garrison and others, to make anti-slavery organizations subservient to the promotion of their personal views on the subjects referred to, in connection with the overthrow of the church, the ministry, and the sabbath.

“Those who could not consent to the course insisted on by Mr. Garrison and his party, formed the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, and it is in connection with this body that we find the spirit of evangelical piety combined with the soundest principles of abolition.

“The *Christian Witness*, years back, produced evidence to show the animus of the American Anti-slavery Society, and of its partisans, against religion. This, by special pleading, is distinguished from true Christianity. But lamentably defective as many of the American churches are, pro-slavery as some of them are known to be, it yet remains true that if Christianity exists at all in the United States, it is found among these churches, and not among those who would destroy them.

“The American Anti-slavery Society has for many years pursued the American church with relentless hostility. As a specimen of their mode of attack, we cite the following resolution:—

“Resolved, That as the American church excludes abolitionists from, and welcomes slave-holders to her communion, it is one of the bulwarks of American slavery which ought to be first battered down.

*From Mr. Ray Palmer to Dr. Campbell.
British Banner, March 24.*

“When Mr. Garrison came to Boston, and started his paper, the *Liberator*, there was a very friendly feeling towards him, and a disposition to sympathise with the movement. But hardly a few months were past, when Mr. Garrison showed tendencies which alarmed good men, and kept them back from uniting with him. Some few of this class did, at this stage of the business, join him, and enter with zeal into the formation of the Abolition Societies. This was the way in which there came to be a division, to a certain extent, among good men. The fears which had been excited by Mr. Garrison were soon realized. The movement, at the head of which he was,

FOR.

From the Seventeenth National Anti-slavery Bazaar Gazette: published in the Liberator and Anti-slavery Standard, Jan. 1851.

“The American Anti-slavery Society is based on the doctrine of the sinfulness of slavery under all circumstances, and the consequent doctrine of immediate emancipation. In regard to theological opinions or religious observances, it utters no voice whatever; all its members are free to hold or promulgate whatever doctrines they may see fit, so that they do not for this purpose make use of the platform or instrumentalities of the Anti-slavery Society.

“All we ask is, that each come in sincerity with an earnest desire to abolish slavery. If it be the object of any one to advance his own opinions on other subjects, to make the interest of the slave subsidiary to anything else, then do we pronounce the abolitionism of such a one defective, and his moral principle unsound. Doubt not that the general current of public feeling will prevent any special injury from such a course. Where a real love for and self-sacrifice in behalf of the cause exist, it is difficult to make a very serious mistake.”

Printed Letter from Mrs. Chapman to Nine Ladies of Glasgow.

“Never did we condemn the Christian church. It is the pro-slavery church to which we deny the name of Christian,—that we condemn. It is of the *slave-holder and his abettor* only that we say, *their* sabbath is an abomination to our society. It is *their* solemn meeting that we proclaim to be iniquity. Never have we failed to speak with the highest reverence of all those noble exceptions, whether churches or individuals, who have renounced connection with slavery.

Extracts from a Report of the Eighteenth National Anti-slavery Bazaar, taken from the Anti-slavery Standard of Jan. 23, 1852.

“We regret to observe that a misapprehension still exists in the minds of some of our friends in Great Britain, touching the sphere and functions of the American Anti-slavery Society, with which body the bazaar movement is identified. Whilst we are aware that much of this misapprehension may exist, in consequence of the calumnies with which pro-slavery religionists, (clerical gentlemen in particular,) coming from America, may have attempted to shield themselves from censure, we yet feel anxious to explain a position, the very catholicity of which may cause a misunderstanding in the minds of some now ac-

AGAINST.

came out to be a grand crusade of Free thinkers against the Church, the Ministry, Civil Government, &c., with an advocacy of woman's rights, (*i.e.*, her right to be a man,) which for a time filled our towns and cities with contention, and shook many churches to their foundations. Ministers and churches were not only obliged to stand aloof from such a so-called anti-slavery movement, but were constrained to oppose it, even at the risk of seeming to those who were lookers-on from a distance, to oppose what at heart they really loved — true anti-slavery principles. This is what I intended in saying that they were thrown into a false position, and could not help it. Mr. Garrison and his party took advantage of this state of things, and constantly asserted and published that the ministry and churches were *pro-slavery*; and for a time they were believed by many who had not opportunity to know. Meantime Mr. George Thompson came, fell into Mr. Garrison's hands, and was thoroughly possessed with his view of things; and, after aggravating the misunderstanding and complication of matters here, went home to misrepresent us in England. But Garrisonism soon became so bad, that even Mr. Lewis Tappan and his friends were obliged, in common with other religious men, to break with Mr. Garrison, and were denounced in consequence by him and his party, and have been till this day entirely distinct. But their attempts at New Organization have never gained the public confidence. The conviction has been that it was not through such agencies that we could best exert our influence against slavery. Such has been the history, not altogether new to you I am aware, of our relations at the North, as ministers and churches, to the abolition societies. Many of the strongest and best anti-slavery men have never joined them for the reasons just set forth. Mr. Chickering's position, which has always been that of a man who had not the least sympathy with slavery, but who was yet not connected with abolition associations, will, in view of those facts, be, I trust, entirely clear. That here and there an individual among the ministry, in disgust at the recklessness and abuse of professed abolitionists, should have written or spoken more favourably of slavery than was proper, or than would otherwise have been indulged in, is certainly not very strange as human nature is."

participation in the Lord's supper with slave-holders or their apologists, was not with them an endorsement of their Christian character. To the Puritan churches of New England it

FOR

quiring their first knowledge of the society's history. As we have said elsewhere, a recognition of the sinfulness of slavery and of its immediate abolition, is the basis on which its operations rest—the tie which unites in harmonious fellowship a great multitude of men and women, differing, perhaps, in various degrees on every other subject. No religious or political test is allowed. On its platform, men and women, blacks and whites, natives and foreigners, Christians and infidels, have the same rights, and are by their presence there committed to nothing but a warfare on slavery. We believe that from its very outset, with a few exceptions, the American Anti-slavery Society have acted in scrupulous good faith, in regard to a subject offering some practical difficulties. At its earliest commencement, Garrison and his followers saw the wisdom of a popular instead of a elective association, in a country like ours, governed by the popular will; and then appealed to all. A few came, of all creeds any all parties. As time rolled on, the fervid and earnest presentation of the truth effected a larger circle. It appealed to many clergymen, and they enlisted in the work with much apparent warmth and sincerity, and for a time did good service, fruits of which yet remain, by sermons, publications, and personal influence. Many of their parishioners joined the Anti-slavery Society, and contributed largely to its funds. It went on vanquishing obstacle after obstacle, till finally, seen and known of all men, appeared the American Church as the "Bulwark of American Slavery." It was not on the testimony of heterodox abolitionists mainly, that this was proved to be the case. It was on the showing of persons of undoubted orthodoxy, such as Amos A. Phelps, William Goodell, Beriah Green, Judge Jay, James S. Birney, James T. Woodbury, and many others, that the truth was made apparent. The salt had lost its savour; the light had become darkness. The abolitionists who were true to their own convictions withdrew from churches which they justly deemed apostate; those who preferred the claims of their sect before justice and humanity went no more with us. Clerical appeals, new organizations, divisions on false issues followed. Of course, liberal sects were comparatively unaffected by circumstances that convulsed the other denominations. The liberal churches claim no excommunicatory power at all. A participation in the Lord's supper with slave-holders or their apologists, was not with them an endorsement of their Christian character. To the Puritan churches of New England it

* This extract is introduced to show how American ministers excuse themselves from taking any part in the anti-slavery warfare, by pleading the impossibility of co-operating with the abolitionists. The extract from Dr. Palfry in the next page explains the actual difficulties of their position, as dependent upon congregations who frequently consider their own interests bound up with the maintenance of the political compromises upon which slavery relies for its support.

involved all this. A minority held back in horror from such connexion; the great majority, whatever had been their previous sayings or doings, began to inquire how much sin a man might commit and yet be a Christian? how slaves might be innocently held for their own good? and various other problems; and finally settled down in their present pro-slavery condition. . . . Behold, in as concise a statement as is possible, the reason why the American Anti-slavery Society stands charged as so heterodox a body by slaveholding religionists. In a country such as ours, where slaveholding and slave-hunting are entirely consistent with the highest Christian profession, a society stamping both as criminal can hardly enjoy much religious repute. Those to whom Christian reputation is dear find it hard to sacrifice the shadow to the substance. We willingly concede that the members of evangelical pro-slavery churches have a painful and trying duty to discharge; but this makes it none the less a duty. Every chapter of the New Testament renders it obligatory upon them. That so many prefer sect and party to the cause of humanity is the grief of the Anti-slavery Society, but surely not its reproach."

"At the present time it is undoubtedly true, that the connection of the majority of the Anti-slavery Society with any sect or party sits lightly. Every sect and party has shown itself so subservient to the slave power, that this might naturally be expected. But no charge can be more false and calumnious, than that the platform or publications of the American Anti-slavery Society have been, or are, perverted from their original design to the promulgation of any system of faith or opinion apart from that included in its declaration of sentiments. Our platform is open to all, foes as well as friends. In the speeches made upon it, much may be said for which the Anti-slavery Society is in no sense responsible. In the addresses of our lecturers, in the newspapers supported by the friends of our society, language may occasionally be employed, from which individual opinion, on matters theological or otherwise, might be inferred. On these, as abolitionists, we have no opinion to express. We do not meet together on the anti-slavery platform, to inquire whether the Bible is the work of divine inspiration, whether the Sabbath is obligatory, or what belief is essential to the Christian character. We simply try all men by their own creed. And when we apply the doctrines of the New Testament to the pro-slavery churches of America, it is no wonder that they prefer any course that shall change the issue we make with them. It never occurs to the most bigoted sectarian, to refuse to enter upon any scheme of honest gain, because men of different, as he regards them dangerous, tenets are co-operating. It should furnish matter for regret and humiliation, that in the horrible extremity in which the American slaves are found, any professed followers of Christ should refuse to help the man fallen among thieves, lest haply they might be found assisting the Samaritanus with whom they have no dealings except in the way of business."

From "Five Years Progress of the Slave Power," a series of papers first published in the "Boston Commonwealth," in July, August, and September, 1851. By Dr. Palfrey.

"The Fugitive Slave Bill of last year was for the American Clergy a tremendous Act of Uniformity; and to many a right feeling man it must have been a bitter task to refrain from 'lifting up his voice like a trumpet, to show the people their transgressions, and the house of Jacob their sins,' though in defiance of expulsion and penury. But all men are not heroes, now ready to be martyrs; and the interest that in the Free States takes care of the slave power is very potent and very despotic. Take an instance which occurred just now. Six months ago, Mr. George F. Simmons, one of the most eminent of the young American clergy, was minister of a church in the rich town of Springfield in this State. In consequence of a mob in that place, occasioned by an advertisement for a public meeting, to be addressed among others by Mr. George Thompson—he preached a sermon of much plainness but in a very candid spirit, condemning the mob spirit, and exalting the claims of free speech along with those of law and order. His dismissal followed as soon as the forms could be gone through in parish meeting. This is but a single case; but the importance of the occasion, the place, the man proceeded against and the men proceeding against him, caused it to be (what probably it was precisely intended for), a wide and impressive proclamation to clergymen, as to what they were to expect if they placed themselves in such an attitude.

"With a large portion of men, the question as to who shall be their religious counsellor, is very much a matter of humor and caprice; and if there is anything in which he to whom they have been accustomed ceases to suit them, they find little difficulty in putting an end to the connection. In most of our religious societies, a few men of property have their ministers' livelihood very much in their power. If they choose to withdraw their pecuniary support, the burden falls too heavy on those who remain, and the minister must be impoverished or dismissed. Dismissal, besides involving the chance of impoverishment, is to a parish minister a great trial in other respects. It tears him away from cherished associations of place and friendship, and compels him to leave work on which he has expended his best efforts, unfinished, and the harvest to which he had looked with sanguine hope, unreaped.

To a clergyman with a wife and children about him, accustomed to a fair share of the comforts of life, with no means of providing for his family except by the exercise of his profession, and commonly with an education and taste on his own part and on theirs, which makes it more distressing for than for many other persons, to struggle with the hardship of narrow and uncertain means—the threat of being cast upon the wide world if he stands up for the Right and Humanity, has a fearful power.

"Who can wonder, that with the Clergy so hampered, the church is not true to its office?"

"Of course, as to individuals, we call no one in question for his silence on these momentous matters, or even for what we account his mischievous championship of the wrong. Men cannot undertake to censure each others' motives, till they are sure they know and understand them. There are honest men, we doubt not at all, who have played such pranks with their understanding, that at last they really believe the Fugitive Slave Bill to be a righteous law; and among such honest men, we doubt not at all, there are members of the clerical profession. There are ministers who, while the Satanic Slave Power pours its affronts upon Christianity without stint, say nothing about it; and yet keep their testimony of a good conscience in some one or other of various ways which we do not undertake to analyse. Our business is not with any of them personally, but with that tremendous influence all around them, which sets itself to brow-beat, to enervate, to blind, to corrupt them, and stifle the testimony for Right and Humanity which they might be especially expected to bear."

The Fourteenth Report of the Massachusetts Anti-slavery Society.

After its summary of the political and ecclesiastical action of each denomination, adds, "As abolitionists, we have no contest with the church and with the state as such. It is only a *pro-slavery* church and a *pro-slavery* state that we denounce and come out from. As abolitionists, we have no test but the fidelity of every man to his own rule of duty. We have no religious or political tests; but we insist on men's consistency, in the matter of slavery, with those they have themselves set up."

From the Fifteenth Report of the Massachusetts Anti-slavery Society, 1847. Under the head "The Church."

"We came to the church in the beginning, accepting it as what it professed to be, a divinely established institution for the removal of all sin, and asked it to help us in the removal of this aggregate of all sins. And it has only been where we have found her the ally instead of the enemy of slavery, that we have denounced, not the Church of Christ, but the Church of America."

From the Sixteenth Report of the same society, 1848. Under same head.

"The American church has done nothing during the past year to change its character as the bulwark of slavery. [Examples of church action follow.] The Covenanters, almost alone of all the American sects, maintain a consistent and undeviating testimony against slavery, and they have reiterated their words of witness this year as in years gone by. The Free Will Baptists have also, by a protest signed by a great number of their ministers, uplifted their voices against this crying iniquity, and proclaimed their determination to labor for its overthrow. And it gives us much pleasure to mention the rare, the almost unique example of a British clergyman, visiting America on an ecclesiastical mission, and maintaining a faithful and uncompromising testimony against slavery. This was the Rev. Dr. Jabez Burns, who visited the Baptist churches in this country, and we believe maintained the integrity of British abolitionism amidst the pro-slavery influences of our religious atmosphere."

From the Seventeenth Report of the same society, 1849. Under same head.

"The Free Will Baptist denomination last spring put forth a protest and declaration of sentiments on the subject of slavery. It was signed by six hundred and sixteen ministers, and expressed views and resolutions, which, if enforced and lived out, would go far towards exonerating the Connexion from the guilt of sustaining slavery."

The Eighteenth Report of the same society, 1850,

After describing the pro-slavery course of the American Board of Foreign Missions and other organizations and sects, proceeds:—"There have not been wanting, however, instances in which the religious spirit of the country has forced its way through or over its accustomed channels, in the direction of humanity and freedom. No less than four synods and thirteen presbyteries, besides single churches and individuals, memorialized the Presbyterian General Assembly to separate that church from all participation and communion with slave-holding. At the West, the free synod of Cincinnati has been organized out of those who withdrew

from the old bodies on the ground of their pro-slavery position; and is based on the refusal of all Christian fellowship with those who hold slaves. This looks like the action of men in earnest, and we hope will be imitated and carried out. There has also been a movement among the Friends, particularly in the State of New York, which promises to give an impulse to the anti-slavery cause.

"All such teachings after the right must ever be watched with interest, and should be encouraged and directed, where comfort or guidance is needed, by all sincere and earnest abolitionists."

From the Nineteenth Annual Report of the same society, 1851. Under the head, "The Church and Clergy."

"The action of the great denominational bodies has not been marked with any of those prominent features which have obtruded themselves upon us in former years. At the Diocesan Convention of New York, held last September, Mr. John Jay again brought up the case of St. Philip's Church and the Church of the Messiah, the rectors and delegates of which have been excluded from conventional privileges on account of their complexion. But it was impossible to push the question to an issue in the face of the unanimous opposition. But we hope, as we are sure, that Mr. Jay will persevere in a course so honorable to his humanity and his Christianity.

"We are happy to say many individual ministers, and some associations and conventions, principally of the smaller sects, denounced these measures [the Compromise, and Fugitive Slave Bills.]"

Such were the resolutions passed by the New York Evangelical Congregational Association at Poughkeepsie. [Resolutions given.]

And those of an informal meeting of the delegates to the New York State Baptist Convention at Stockport, &c. [Resolutions follow.]

But we grieve to say such has not been the tone of the great sects,—[Dr. Moses Stuart, Dr. Taylor, Dr. Hawks, &c. quoted].

"The clergy of Boston were the first men to whom Garrison applied when he entered on the work of his ministry. But they sent him away empty. And the class who have been led to question and reject the authority of the clergy, by their own conduct in those directions, are not now the worst portions of the community. [Extracts from pro-slavery sermons are here given, and conclude with the following remarks:—]

"If these be true views of the character and nature of God and Christianity, the abolitionists make no complaint of being called infidels. They hold that the common Father of mankind knows no distinction between His children. The loyalty they owe is to the King of Heaven; the treason they detest is that which would overthrow His government, and set up in its stead a system of force, fraud, lust, and cruelty, which His soul hateth."

From an Examination of Charges against the American Anti-slavery Society. Bristol, 1852. By Edmund Quincy.

The founders of the American Anti-slavery Society did say, that they "should enlist the pulpit in the cause of the suffering and the dumb," "and aim at the purification of the churches from all participation in the guilt of slavery." It was the firm belief of all those men, that the clergy and churches needed only light to induce them to make common cause with themselves against slavery. Mr. Garrison, to use the language of an eminent Free-soil Quaker, was even "fanatical" in his reliance on the clergy and churches. He and the society he formed did try, and that earnestly and in faith, to "enlist the pulpit," and "to purify the churches." But they most signally failed. And the statement of this failure, in emphatic language, is the only means by which "they have sought the destruction of the churches." The proof of the charge that they have ever done so in any other manner lies with the accusers. We plead not guilty, and offer all our official acts and expressions of opinion to their scrutiny, to help them to make out their case. The American Anti-slavery Society never denied the rightful existence of a Christian Church and Ministry. It has only denied that character to ministers and churches holding slaves, or defending or excusing slave-holding. It has said of *such*, that they are not Churches of Christ, but, in the language of Channing, "synagogues of Satan." When we find American orthodoxy, in the persons of Dr. Moses Stuart and Dr. Taylor, the chief teachers of their chief theological schools, teaching the religious duty of returning fugitive slaves; inferring it, in Mr. Stuart's case, from the Fourth Commandment; and in that of Dr. Spring, who was afraid to pray for immediate emancipation, if he thought his prayer would be answered: when we see American Unitarianism declaring by the mouth of Mr. Dewey, that a brother or a son should be sent back to slavery to sustain a political arrangement; and by that of Theodore Clapp, that God himself was once a slave-dealer: when we hear Bishop Hedding, the head of American Methodism, deducing the rightfulness of slave-holding from the Golden Rule of Christ: when we find Dr.

Richard Fuller, an eminent Baptist divine, affirming that slavery was ordained by God the Father, not forbidden by God the Son, and expressly authorized by God the Holy Ghost: when we find Dr. Daniel Sharp (we grieve to say an Englishman by birth, though most American in doctrine,) of the same denomination, uniting his voice with Drs. Tyng and Hawks of the Episcopal Church, in defence of the Fugitive Slave Law; we conceive that as it is our right, so it is our duty, to express our sense of their wickedness, and to warn the people against such wolves in sheep's clothing. We boldly affirm that to call such men as these *ministers of God*, and the assemblies to which they preach, and which abet them in their atrocious guilt, *churches of Jesus Christ*, is blasphemy against God and against his Son. And we appeal to the British Churches to decide whether this be "railing at ministers of the Gospel and the churches!" This is the extent of our offending.

"I ask who is more ready to do justice to all ministers and churches, of whatever name, that are *faithful to the slave*, than "Mr. Garrison and his party?" Who more scrupulous to give to such the full measure of admonition they deserve? And who are more welcome to the anti-slavery meetings than such men? But such ministers and church-members have no complaint to make of the denunciations of the abolitionists. They know they are not aimed at them."

MAINE CONGREGATIONAL CONFERENCE AND THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE.

AGAINST.

"To the Editor of the British Banner.

"Albany, N.Y., U.S.A.,
February, 1852.

"Sir,—I have just had the pleasure of reading in one of our religious papers, copied from the *Banner*, your exceedingly thorough and caustic, but certainly just, castigation of Mr. Lewis Tappan, in connection with the defence made by my good friend and brother the Rev. Mr. Chickering, touching his position on the slavery question. And although I have not the honour of a personal acquaintance with you, yet I trust I shall be pardoned for venturing to trouble you with this communication, in view of facts which I shall presently state. Rejoicing at the prospect that this subject, which has occasioned so much friction between those who ought to love each other, is in a fair way of being rightly understood, and with gratitude to you personally for the ability and fairness with which you have treated this particular matter, I have felt a wish to contribute a little, if possible, to strengthen your hands in the work you have undertaken, by giving my testimony.

"Allow me then, my dear sir, to state that brother Chickering and myself were settled as pastors, in the neighbouring cities of Portland and Bath, in the same year 1834. We had often conferred together on the subject of slavery, and shared in the discussions of it which had occurred in the meetings of our public bodies. I have had, therefore, a thorough knowledge of brother Chickering's views and course in relation to the matter from the first. This is one reason why I feel called upon to write. Another is, that I happened to be the Moderator of the General

FOR.

From the Portland Inquirer.

[The following notice of this conference, to which Mr. Ray Palmer alludes, will define the position its members hold to the anti-slavery cause. It will show that adherence to slavery-sustaining church organizations, or separation from them, affords sufficient evidence whether ministers are "soundly anti-slavery in principle and practice," without the test of their being "members of abolition societies."]

"For some years, anti-slavery men in the Congregational churches in Maine have petitioned the Maine Conference to withdraw fellowship from the General Assembly of Presbyterian Churches in the United States; for the reason that these Assemblies, both Old School and New School, are composed in part of slaveholders, and consequently are important bulwarks of the 'patriarchal institution.'

"This year, in its place, the Committee of Arrangements rejected the Connecticut resolutions, affirning the supreme rights of God and of conscience, and brought forward the subject of Colonization, and time was set apart for its introduction by one of its advocates from Princeton, N.J., who was allowed to speak nearly twice the time allotted to him—a special favour not granted to other speakers; although, for several years past, in deference to the anti-slavery feeling which it was supposed pervaded the Conference, the Colonization question has not been introduced.

"The great argument used to oppose anti-slavery men in the Maine Conference has been, that if we cease sending delegates to the Presbyterian Church, we deprive ourselves

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Conference of Maine (for the three years then current) at the time he sailed for Europe, and in that capacity I gave him an official letter of introduction and commendation to the Congregational Union with which our body was in correspondence, and so I naturally felt some personal interest in his reception among you.

Now then, as to Brother Chickering and slavery. He has never been a professed *Abolitionist*, which in this country always means a *member* of the Abolition Societies. No one, however, but an ‘accuser of the bre-slavery man, or doubted that he was soundly anti-slavery in his principles and practice. He has concurred repeatedly with the majority of our Conference in passing strong condemnatory resolutions in relation to slavery, which have been published in our minutes, and in the religious papers; and I know of no occasion on which he has ever uttered a word in justification of that wretched system, or of apology for those who labour to uphold it. His position has been that of the great body of New England ministers, among whom are many of the ablest and most faithful which our land affords. You have doubtless had the fact explained to you, that the turn which the Anti-slavery Societies here took, almost at the outset, was such as *of necessity* to throw the ministers and churches into a *false position*—a position that is *apparently* wrong while *really* right—and one which it has required far more courage and piety to maintain, for the sake of truth and conscience, than it would to have gone pell-mell into the excesses of a rabid and *pseudo*-philanthropy.

“ RAY PALMER.”

FOR.

of any opportunity of labouring with them as Christians for their reformation on this subject.

“ This year they have shown their insincerity in the use of this argument, with which they have hitherto blinded many conscientious Christians, by electing as their delegate to the Old School General Assembly, Rev. J. O. Fisk of Bath, who has proved his loyalty to the interests of slavery by preaching a sermon in defence of the infamous Fugitive Slave Law.

“ This is the man they select as the organ of the Congregational Churches of Maine, to deal in Christian faithfulness with that embodiment of pro-slavery, the Old School General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church.

“ It was evident throughout the meetings, that slavery was in the ascendancy. From all I heard of the speeches and reports, the last two days of the meeting, I should not have imagined that there was a slave in the land.

“ Anti-slavery men have laboured in years past with some faithfulness with that body, but now seem to have given up the case as hopeless. Will anti-slavery churches retain their connexion with a Conference which paralyses all action, and to so great an extent suppresses sympathy for the crushed slave ?

(Signed,) _____

“ CONSISTENCY.

*South Berwick,
Oct. 13, 1851.*

The Rev. Albert Barnes of Philadelphia, in a Sermon delivered in that city in 1846, made the following remarks:—

“ Advert for one moment to the hindrances which exist to all efforts which can be made to remove slavery from the world, in consequence of the relation of the *Church* to the system. Reflect how many members of the Christian Church, and how many ministers of the gospel, are owners of slaves; how little effort is made by the great mass to dissociate themselves from the system; how many there are, even in the pulpit, who openly advocate it; how much identified the system is with all the plans of gain, and all the views of the comfort and ease of domestic life, among many members of the Church; and how faint and feeble is the voice of condemnation of the system uttered by the great mass, even of those who have no connection with it; and how often the language of apology is heard even there; and it is easy to see how ineffectual must be all efforts to remove this great evil from the world. The language of the ministry, and the practice of church members, gives such a sanction to this enormous evil as could be derived from no other source. No one can doubt that the Church of Christ, in this land, *has power to revolutionize the whole public sentiment on the subject, and to hasten the hour when, in the United States and their territories, the last shackle of the slave shall fall.*

“ Again, what is it that does most to keep the public conscience at ease on the subject? The fact that the system is countenanced by good men; that bishops, and priests, and deacons, that ministers and elders, that Sunday-school teachers and exhorters, that pious matrons and heiresses are the holders of slaves, and that the ecclesiastical bodies of the land address no language of rebuke or entreaty to their consciences.

“ *Were all the ministers and members of the Churches to stand before the world in the sublime and noble attitude of having no connection with the system, how soon would that system come to an end!* ”

THE RELIGIOUS CHARACTER OF MR. GARRISON.

AGAINST.

British Banner, Jan. 28, 1851.

"A word now as to Mr. Garrison. Whether that gentleman be an infidel or not, one thing is quite evident, *that he acts very like one*. According to him, the three grand impostures of the day are law, physic, and divinity. These he is reported to call 'the devil's trinity.' His opinions of the church are freely expressed:—'The corruptions of the church, so called, are obviously more deep and incurable than those of the state; and therefore the church, in spite of every precaution and safeguard, is to be first dashed to pieces.'—*Liberator*, vol. vii. p. 122.

"Some time in 1837, he published a letter from a non-resistant and spiritual perfectionist of the name of Boyle, in which the Lord's day was designated 'a pagan-originated Sabbath.' . . . Boyle's letter was endorsed by Mr. Garrison as a 'testimony for God and his righteousness, which cannot be overthrown.' You will clearly perceive that in these quotations it is not on anti-slavery grounds that he is determined to uproot the church, but for other reasons. The fact is, Mr. Garrison thinks himself some great one, sent into the world to reform it.

"The following resolutions will clearly show Mr. Garrison's views of the church:—

"Resolved.—That the true church is independent of all human organizations, creeds, or compacts. That it is not the province of any man or any body of men, to admit or exclude from that church any one who is created in the Divine image. That it is no where enjoined by Christ or his apostles upon any man, that he should connect himself with any organization by whatever name known; but all are left to act freely or in conjunction with others according to their own free choice."

"These resolutions were submitted to the Anti-Church Convention in 1841, by Mr. Garrison.

"Let us now hear what he thinks of the Lord's day:—For myself, I have no reverence for bricks and mortar. The only sanctuary that I need is Christ. The Sabbath is not necessary for man or beast. In the Christian dispensation we are redeemed from the curse, "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread."

"Whatever Mr. Garrison's friends may say of his attachment to the Bible, one thing is quite clear, that he can and has voted against its claims with notorious infidels. At a convention of the *soi-distant* "Friends of Universal Reform," holden in Boston, U. S. November 18, 1840; a test resolution was offered by some Christian men, viz., That the Scrip-

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From the Liberator, Sept. 19, 1851.

[Leading article headed "Infidelity, Divine Revelation."]

"I claim to be a Christian; why do you persist in representing me as an infidel? I am a lover of Christian institutions; why do you represent me as seeking their overthrow? I have engaged in no reform, I have promulgated no doctrines, which I have not vindicated by an appeal to the Bible; an appeal more frequently made [by me] than to all other books in the world besides. The institutions I assailed were exclusively slave-holding and slavery-sustaining institutions. . . . I cherish no sentiment which I am not prepared to vindicate, as in accordance with the spirit and precepts of the gospel. The calumnious charge of infidelity gives me no concern, except as it operates injuriously to the cause of the slave, as his enemies well know; otherwise I should never pause to notice it.

"What my views of the True Church are, I have long since embodied in the following lines. Is this the language of infidelity?

THE TRUE CHURCH.

Church of the living God! in vain thy foes
Make thee, in impious mirth, their laughing-stock—
Contemn thy strength, thy radiant beauty mock:—
In vain their threats, and impotent their blows,
Satan's assaults, hell's agonizing throes!
For thou art built upon th' Eternal Rock,
Nor fear'st the thunder-storm, the earthquake-shock,
And nothing shall disturb thy calm repose.
All human combinations change and die,
Whate'er their origin, name, form, design;
But firmer than the pillars of the sky
Thou standest ever, by a power divine;
Thou art endued with Immortality,
And canst not perish—GOD'S OWN LIFE IS THINE!

"In what sense and to what extent I am an anti-Sabbath heretic, you may learn by reading another sonnet from my pen, long since given to the public:—

THE TRUE REST.

Oh thou, by whom eternal life is given,
Through Jesus Christ, Thy well-beloved Son,
As is Thy will obeyed by all in heaven,
So let it now by all on earth be done!
Not by the observance of one day in seven,
As holy time, but of ALL DAYS AS ONE;
The soul set free—all legal fetters riven—
Vanished the law, the reign of grace begun!
Dear is the Christian Sabbath to my heart,
Bound by no forms—from times and seasons free;
The whole of life absorbing—not a part;
Perpetual rest, and perfect liberty!
Who keeps not this, steers by a Jewish chart,
And sails in peril on a storm-tossed sea."

From the Liberator, May, 1850.

"For twenty years I have been vindicating the Bible from the foul charge of sanctioning the enslavement of a portion of the human

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tures of the Old and New Testaments are an authentic record of faith, and the only rule of faith and duty.' Mr. Garrison said he was opposed to the resolution, because it would not only shut out avowed infidels, but some who profess to be Christians, and defeat the object of the convention."

It may be asked, what kind of Christians would be shut out? Mr. Garrison, no doubt, thought of the large circle of Sceptics, Socinians, Hicksite Quakers, and others of the same class.

British Banner, February 11.

"It was our lot to listen to the impiety which issued from the lips of Mr. Garrison at Exeter Hall. When we heard him say to the men of the Bible, 'Your God is my devil,' we required no more to excite alarm."

"This led me to turn up the speech in question, a verbatim report of which appeared in two or three newspapers of that date. I cannot find a trace in support of your allegations. The same allegations were made against Mr. Garrison by a popular magazine of the day, and although there were many replies offered, and among them one from Mr. Garrison himself, that journal persisted in scrupulously excluding them one and all, and continued to heap scandal upon scandal."

In the *Liberator*, Sept. 19, 1851, Mr. Garrison thus denies the charge in the *British Banner*:

"Believing in the God of Christianity, how could I have made so revolting a declaration? On a careful perusal of my speech as reported in the *Universe*, (a report which I never revised) I can find no such expression. Surely it was too shocking to have been overlooked by the reporters. . . . That I may have said in substance that the God who in America is declared to sanction the impious system of slavery, the annihilation of the marriage institution, and the sacrifice of all human rights, was my ideal of the devil, is not improbable. It may have evinced a lack of good taste on my part, but strong contrasts are sometimes called for, even though sure to shock the fastidious and unreflecting. With Luther, I will plead in self-defence, 'If I have exceeded the bounds of moderation, the monstrous turpitude of the times has transported me.'

Extract from Mr. Garrison's Speech at Exeter Hall, (above referred to) Sept. 14, 1840:

"I am a firm believer in Christianity—in the Christianity taught by Jesus Christ. I am an Abolitionist, because I believe Jesus Christ to have been one; because I know that his Gospel is an Anti-slavery Gospel; because that into the church of Christ there comes no slaveholder. I stand here to denounce these men who claim to be sent of God, who are perverting the Bible to make out a case of innocent slaveholding, so that the whole slave system may be protected throughout all time. It is the duty of every man to advocate the cause of liberty. If he wish to make the world believe that the Bible is the Book of God, let him be careful how he makes out slavery to be a Bible institution. . . . If any one can prove that I have said any thing derogatory to the glory of God, to the honor of Christ, to the welfare of man, let him take the platform and expose me."

In the Liberator, Sept. 19, 1851, Mr. Garrison says:—

"My aim has been from the beginning to erect and uphold a platform on which all those who 'despise fraud, loathe rapine, and abhor blood,' might rally and mingle 'like kindred spirits into one,' whatever their views on other subjects."

"For myself I am no partisan, no sectarian. The test of character and condition which Jesus laid down is to me all-sufficient, 'By their fruits ye shall know them.' My adherence to the anti-slavery platform has been steadfast and loyal. The man is not living who can truthfully declare that in this great struggle for the overthrow of the most impious and God-defying power that ever wielded the rod of despotism, I have refused to stand by his side because dissenting from his religious or political opinions. Many have fled from me on this ground, and become personally malignant. Their sectarianism has overmastered their humanity. Their requirement of me, as the condition of anti-slavery fellowship, has been

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race; if this is to expose it to contempt and ridicule, I must submit to the imputation without a murmur."

From the London Morning Advertiser, July 5.

"Mr. Garrison is a native of Massachusetts, and has had a Puritan education; he is almost a man of one book, and that book is the Bible. In the course of his long warfare with the open and disguised advocates of slavery in the United States, his chief arguments, and much of his burning and indignant denunciations against the 'sum of all villainies,' have been drawn from the Bible armoury."

No intimation of such language being used by Mr. Garrison can be found in the newspaper reports of his speech. It having been attributed to him on another occasion, elicited the following remarks of Mr. Robert Smith of Dalston, in a letter in the *Morning Advertiser*, Aug. 22, 1851:—

unequal, absurd, and tyrannical,—nothing less than to have no mind or conscience of my own, on any subject but that of slavery,—at least none differing from theirs. For themselves individually, on their own responsibility as Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, &c., they claim the right (which I cordially concede) to promulgate their sectarian views, and make as many proselytes as possible. To me they concede no such liberty. If, representing no association, speaking as a man in view of my accountability to God, *apart from the anti-slavery platform*, I venture to communicate religious sentiments not in accordance with their own, they immediately attempt to create all possible odium against me as an abolitionist, and inculcate that such sentiments are part and parcel of what they invidiously term ‘Garrisonian abolitionism.’ It was on this ground, and in this evil spirit, that the secession was made from the American Anti-slavery Society in 1840, and opposition to that society is still continued; and though the constitution of the society remains as it was originally adopted, and makes no other Condition of membership than this, ‘that immediate emancipation is the right of the slave and the duty of a master.’ Thus too have originated the senseless and hypocritical outcries against me as a Woman’s Rights, Anti-sabbath, No-government man,—all for the express purpose of making me detestable as an abolitionist.”

THE AGENCY OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

An inference has frequently been drawn by presenting passages from the writings and speeches of the Agents and Lecturers of the American Anti-slavery Society in their private capacities, that they improperly connect their views on other subjects with their advocacy of the anti-slavery cause; and also, that such specimens of individual opinion represent the sentiments of the whole Society with which they co-operate. The unfairness of this mode of argument will be apparent from a comparison of the following parallel passages:—

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British Banner, Jan. 28, 1852.

“Waldo Emerson, A. B. Alcott, Maria Weston Chapman, and Edmund Quincy, called a convention for the public discussion of the credibility and authority of the Old and New Testaments, which was held at Boston, March 29, 1842.”

“The same parties figured here as at the other conventions, reinforced by Abby Folsom and other kindred spirits.”

“So much for Mr. Garrison and his school. And now a few remarks on his chosen companions and fellow-laborers in the Anti-slavery cause, or rather, in the cause of ‘Universal Reform.’”

J. M. Buffum.

“Another of the Garrison school. This man sympathizes with his party in the church, the ministry, and the sabbath, &c.; and is chiefly celebrated for having proposed a resolution at a meeting in 1842, ‘declaring the right of any man to go into assemblies, though convened for other purposes, and to call upon the people in the name of humanity and God, to assist them to deliver the spoil out of the hand of the spoiler, &c.’”

“Among the individuals who took part in the discussion on this resolution were S. S. Foster, P. Pillsbury, T. Beach, Wendell Phillips, J. A. Collins, &c. right-hand men of Mr. Garrison.”

Oliver Johnson.

“This was, and perhaps is, a chosen friend of Garrison’s. According to him, quoting his master, ‘lawyers, doctors, and priests are

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The only connection of these Conventions with the American Anti-slavery Society, is their having originated in the resolute opposition of the managers of that society to any extraneous topic being introduced upon the anti-slavery platform.”

It is the invariable habit of pro-slavery papers to substitute the name of Abby Folsom (a poor insane woman, who is obliged at intervals to be sent to a lunatic asylum), for that of the noble Abby Kelley, who has consecrated her life and her fortune to the cause of the slave.

Messrs. Wright, Beach, Foster, Collins, and Pillsbury were orthodox ministers at the time they joined the anti-slavery ranks. The American Society is not responsible for any alteration that may have taken place in their views. Its sole function being to abolish slavery, it has no power to institute inquiries into the changing states of mind and opinions of its members, nor to excommunicate them, nor to refuse their co-operation on such grounds.”

From the Anti-slavery Standard, Jan. 8, 1852.

“At a convention of the Pennsylvania Anti-slavery Society, Dec. 17, 1851, Mr. Joshua Giddings, (a United States senator, a member of the whig party, an eminent opponent of slavery in Congress, and an evangelical Presbyterian) remarked ‘that the friends of freedom in Northern Ohio had some knowledge of the gentleman who edited the *Freeman*, (Mr. O. Johnson) that he was dear to their hearts, and he could cordially commend him

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the Devil's trinity,' and professions as such must perish."

H. C. Wright.

"This is the celebrated non-resistant who recently visited and resided a considerable time in this country, and acted as one of the travelling agents of the Anti-slavery League. Mr. Wright thinks with Mr. Garrison on the Sabbath question, and how deeply he sympathises may be seen from the following extract, published in the *Liberator* of the 27th Nov. 1846. It was addressed to Mr. Garrison on the day he left England:—

"It is my earnest wish that the American Union—the Bastile of Slavery—may be dissolved; and American religion, that shields from scorn and execration the vilest criminals that pollute the world, may be repudiated as the direst foe of God and man.

"I want to say to you, that I regard your present visit to this kingdom, and your efforts in it in behalf of humanity and Christianity, as the most useful and important event of your life. The people of this kingdom, and of all Christendom, must be delivered from the dominion of man (*i. e.* from all governments), and brought under the government of God, before they can be efficient and practical in their efforts to regenerate and redeem the world. So long as the soul of man feels the influence of an ambitious and designing priesthood, he cannot act simply to please his Maker. The priesthood of this and of all kingdoms, serve no purpose but to baptize whatever abominations the State chooses to legalise. I reject with loathing a religion that tolerates slavery or war; and the Being who is worshipped as God by slave-holders and war-makers is allied to war and oppression, and is to me a demon of blood. I would as soon bow down to the shrine of Juggernaut, as that of such a Being! Go on to bring Christian truth to bear on the individual and social evils of the world. My heart is with you, and ever will be, whatever changes may be made in religious opinions on any subject whatsoever, so long as you are faithful to the cause of the oppressed, and so long as you labour to deliver man from the despotism of man, and to bring him into subjection to our common Father. I have no regard for an abstract religion, that has no bearing on the character of man. I have no confidence in a religion that connects man's eternal destiny with observances, with singing of psalms, making prayers, going to meeting at set times and in set places, without regard to personal character."

Edmund Quincy.

"This gentleman edited the *Liberator* during Mr. Garrison's stay in England. He gives this character of himself:—

"As for myself, I had attained the views I now hold on the Church, Ministry, and

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to the confidence and support of the abolitionists of Pennsylvania."

G. S. Ritchie (*in the American Baptist, March 11th, 1852*), while urging attendance at an Anti-slavery Convention, remarks:—

"It will be worth a journey of twenty or thirty miles to hear such men as Smith and May pour out their soul's best eloquence in behalf of God's crushed and bleeding poor. Mr. May is a Unitarian clergyman, but he has not suffered his manhood to be drowned in a sectarian part, as so many of our own brethren have. He will make the chords of your heart vibrate with sympathy for the slave."

From an Examination of Charges against the American Anti-slavery Society. Bristol, 1852. By Edmund Quincy.

"I now come to the third general charge against the American Society,—that it is infidel in its tendencies and instrumentalities. Here again, a strict definition of terms is necessary. What is an Infidel? All Protestants are Infidels to the largest half of Christendom; and a considerable part of them mutually regard each other as such. The implication is groundless, that any considerable number of the members of the American Anti-slavery Society are what is usually understood as infidels. With scarcely an exception, if with one, the members of that society, from Mr. Garrison downwards, profess and call themselves Christians.

"But the American Anti-slavery Society is not "technically" a "Christian" association. That is, not so to the exclusion of Jews, Mahometans, Pagans, Atheists, or any human beings who have humanity enough to wish to help the overthrow of slavery. It has no religious test; no right of inquisition into men's opinions; no power of excommunication for heresy. If heretics and infidels will insist upon doing the proper work of the church and ministry, we cannot help ourselves. We cannot prevent Mr. Henry C. Wright, or the Rev. Stephen Farley, or the anonymous correspondents of the *Ohio Bugle*, or any other member of the society, from saying what they please. They are solely responsible for what they say. If Mr. T. can show any attack on Christianity, the Bible, the Sabbath, the Church, or the Ministry, as such, contained in any authentic resolutions or accepted reports of the American Anti-slavery Society, he will have a shadow of evidence in support of his wholesale accusations, which shadow they now want. It is indeed singular that in a society composed of so many members, of such widely differing opinions, engaged in a continual discussion of opinions and practices, Mr. T. should find so very few and such very feeble proofs of

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Sabbath, before I knew of your (Mr. Garrison's) existence."

*John A. Collins.**

"This person was one of the most ardent and talented of Garrison's workers. He was sent to this country on a special mission by the American Anti-slavery Society a few years back. A whisper came across the Atlantic that he was an infidel; but it was indignantly denied by certain parties in Glasgow, Dublin, and Darlington. However, we have now his confession that he was an infidel, and what is better, we may hope that the grace of God has rec overed him out of the snare into which he fell.

"Far be it from us to light the fires of persecution against Mr. Garrison and his coadjutors. If they hold such opinions as have been cited, so far as these opinions do not militate against the laws of the land, they have a right to propagate them, and to adopt all legitimate means to establish them in the earth. But on the other hand, we claim for ourselves the right, according to our own views, to pronounce upon them and their tendencies. Now we say, if such are the means by which they aim to accomplish their end—even though that end is the abolition of Slavery—we do not see our way clear towards either receiving them into our houses or bidding them God speed."

By extracting such passages as the following, with which the speeches and writings of the abolitionists abound, it might be made to appear that their arguments were drawn solely from the Bible:—

From W. L. Garrison to the Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Convention.

"Your anniversary is to be held at a time of intense excitement."

"Whatever may transpire, I am confident that you will all possess your souls in patience, nor think it strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you; but rejoice inasmuch as you are made partakers of Christ's sufferings, committing the keeping of your souls to God as unto a faithful Creator. God is our refuge and strength. Hearken unto me, saith the Lord. I, even I, am He that comforteth you. Sanctify the Lord of Hosts himself, and let Him be your fear, and let Him be your dread.

"Our duty as abolitionists is still to 'cry aloud and spare not,' until every chain is broken. If the Gospel is to be obeyed, we are right. . . . Trust ye in the Lord for ever, for in the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength. . . . All carnal weapons I have long since renounced, but only to put on the whole armour of God, that I may be able to withstand in the evil day; and having done all to stand."—*Liberator*, October 31, 1851, and *Anti-slavery Standard*, 1852.

From Henry Crew to the same Convention.

"Respected Friends,

"I am again providentially prevented from meeting you, to unite in the advocacy of the good cause of righteousness, truth, and outraged humanity. . . . Clouds and darkness are indeed at present around the throne of the Eternal. Yet that throne is estab-

* "In the year 1841, Mr. John A. Collins being in England as our agent, the Rev. Nathaniel Colver wrote a letter to Mr. Joseph Sturge, replete with the grossest calumnies against Mr. Garrison, (the same which have recently been revived by the Rev. Dr. Campbell,) among them that 'he had identified himself with the No-marriage Perfectionists,' &c. and warning the English public against Mr. Collins. This letter was copied and privately circulated under the seal of the Committee" [of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society!]—*An Examination of Charges against the American Anti-slavery Society*. By Edmund Quincy. Dublin, 1852.

FOR.

his charges, as he has adduced. It is a strong presumption that none such exist."

"But these attempts to bring odium upon active abolitionists, on account of their imputed opinions, is a sure test of the quality of the abolitionism of those that make them. Suppose every member of the American Anti-slavery Society were an infidel in the proper sense of the word, ought not genuine abolitionists to rejoice in their labours, and to give them their good word and helping hand? That society is strictly analogous in its nature to the Anti-Corn Law League, differing only in the infinitely higher importance of its purpose and its permanent activity of operations. What would Mr. Joseph Sturge think of a man who, professing the doctrines of the League, should refuse to unite with it, and endeavour to impede its operations, and to blacken the characters of its members, because he is a Friend, and holds the peculiar views of his religious society as to the Sabbath, Ministry, Bible, and the speaking of women? No body would refuse to co-operate with the rankest infidel breathing, in any honest combination, intended to make or to save a shilling. But when the object of an association is the redemption of a distant race of human beings from utter misery and degradation, where no money is to be made, but only bodies and souls saved, then is the time to say to the Anti-slavery Publican, 'stand off, for I am holier than thou.'

lished in immutable righteousness. The conflict may be severe, but the victory is sure, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."—*Liberator*.

"Just in proportion as we weaken the faith of the community in the Bible, we cut away one of the main supports of the anti-slavery cause."—Ellis Clirbe, in the *Liberator*, Jan. 9, 1852.

Extract from a Letter of M. and E. Wilson, members of the American Anti-slavery Society, published in the Anti-slavery Buley, Jan. 3, 1852.

"The Bible is the only book in the world that can establish the principle of liberty and fraternity on a solid basis. The Bible is the most powerful of anti-slavery documents extant, and has been the means of emancipating millions from slavery. The Bible has been used as the text book in anti-slavery discussions ever since the question has been agitated. On its page is inscribed, 'God created man in his own image,' &c.

THE FRIENDS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE IN GLASGOW.

About a year ago, Nine Ladies of Glasgow, very few of whom had before taken any part in the anti-slavery cause, published a letter of secession from the Glasgow Female Anti-slavery Society, on the plea that the Boston *Liberator*, Mr. Garrison's paper, contained views on religious subjects against which they protested, and that they therefore could not co-operate with a society which acknowledged Mr. Garrison's services to the anti-slavery cause, and laboured with him for its promotion. In this letter they did not mention that the *Liberator* is Mr. Garrison's private property, and is not maintained by anti-slavery funds.

AGAINST.

British Banner, Feb. 11, 1852.

"We have seen with great satisfaction, that the Glasgow friends of the slave are having their eyes opened to the true nature of the Garrisonian party. It may be doubted if there was any provincial society in Great Britain that contributed more to further the anti-slavery movement which ended in the abolition of British slavery, than did that of Glasgow. Pity it would be that such a party should remain in ignorance of the infidel school of which we now speak. We have before us the report of the Annual Meeting of the New Association in Glasgow, held Nov. 4, 1851, in which we find extracts from the speech of the Rev. John Gutherie, who referred to Slavery as one of the prominent evils which at present reigned in the United States, and added to it Infidelity. He stated that it was melancholy to reflect that the Land of the Pilgrims should at this moment be infested with such a school—a school composed of men who identified themselves with the anti-slavery movement. 'By some easy refinements, their newspaper, with the infidel profanities it ever and anon vomits forth, is shown, as often as occasion requires, to be not the formal and technical organ of the anti-slavery society, with which these Boston gentlemen stand connected.' It so happened that abolition and infidelity were advocated together, and not only so, but unblushingly identified.

"We cannot withhold the expression of our great satisfaction, that a spirit of resistance has been called forth in the West of Scotland."

FOR.

Extract from the Sixth Report of the Glasgow Female Anti-slavery Society, (read Jan. 21, 1851).

"The Glasgow Emancipation Society, with the Committee of which we have always had the greatest harmony and unanimity of sentiment, having attended to the anti-slavery cause in general, have left this society, [which was instituted in 1841] at liberty to pursue that department for which it was chiefly originated; namely, to obtain and transmit contributions to the Bazaar held annually in Boston, in support of the funds of the Massachusetts Anti-slavery Society. The committee are happy to say that the articles sent to the Bazaar last year, being the tenth annual box sent by the society, were as beautiful and useful as ever, and valued at £147. The committee regret that four of their number, having departed from the principle of non-interference with the particular opinions of any one engaged in the anti-slavery cause, on which this society is based, have lately, in connection with a few others, formed a new society, under the designation of "The Glasgow Female Association for the Abolition of Slavery." The name they have adopted is so similar to ours as to be apt to create mistakes, and has misled some of our friends.

"We learn that the cause of separation from us is that we aid the Boston bazaar,—that the Boston Society has connected with it some parties who hold and publish sentiments which they esteem unorthodox.

"The American Anti-slavery Society consists of persons of all the various Christian denominations. The persons placed in Committees are those who from character, ability, and devotedness, are most qualified to promote the cause, irrespective of religious opinions; and many of them are orthodox. The society includes many of the earliest, devoted, untiring, talented abolitionists; it has the entire confidence of the colored people, and is now actively engaged in arousing opposition to the infamous Fugitive Slave Bill. Shall we withdraw from such noble men and women that sympathy and support we have for ten years past given them, because some of them do not coincide with us in certain opinions? We feel that we cannot; that it would be a failure in duty to liberty itself to do so. The American Society has in no respect altered its rules or mode of operation; and no reason has arisen why we should not aid and sympathise with it as heretofore."

Report of a Public Meeting held in the Merchants' Hall, Glasgow, January 21, 1851, of the Glasgow Female Anti-slavery Society and others friendly to the abolition of slavery.

"The Hall was crowded. On the platform, Rev. G. Ingram, G. Jeffrey, W. Scott, D. Johnston; Drs. J. Black, and W. Young; Bailie Pearson, Messrs. J. Knox, J. Barr, J. B. Ross, J. Clark, A. Paton, J. Cooper, R. S. Brown, R. Gardner, J. Cairns, R. Simpson, J. Hoey, F. B. Stuart, and other leading friends of the anti-slavery cause.

"Mr. WILLIAM SMEAL, Treasurer of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, in the chair. The Chairman said, (after alluding to the New Association) . . . 'In associating to promote the anti-slavery cause, the understanding and the practice have ever been, that each held his own views on all other matters, but agreed to co-operate for the overthrow of slavery. On a principle similar to this, the Bible, and Peace, and Temperance Societies, and all bodies associated for a common object, act. Unquestionably, I should feel most satisfaction in labouring with those who agree with me most intimately. I can have no sympathy with any who daringly presume to impugn the government of the Almighty Ruler of the universe. I could hold no fellowship religiously with those who detract from the principle that "all Scripture is given by the inspiration of God." Least of all, could I harmonize with any who deny the divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which I believe to be the chief corner-stone of the Christian edifice. But, notwithstanding all this, if there be here or in America those who, though differing from me on these and other points, are yet of unblemished moral reputation, who are spending their energies in behalf of the down-trodden slave, and who of all others most enjoy his confidence, I am not prepared to abandon association with these men. The American Anti-slavery Society, with whom the friends of emancipation in Glasgow have so long co-operated, is catholic in its constitution, consisting of men of all religious opinions, orthodox and unorthodox, who, without referring to these differences, harmoniously meet and labour for the extinction of slavery. Among these are that prince and pioneer of abolitionists, William Lloyd Garrison and his coadjutors. And therefore I would continue to co-operate with them until the fetters are torn from the limbs of the slave.'

"The Rev. Mr. Jeffrey said, in moving the adoption of the report, 'It is admirably fitted to give the friends of the anti-slavery cause the enlightenment which some may need, who are not so versant in the history of the anti-slavery movement as you (the chairman) and others who are around me. We who are on this platform are not ignorant of the history of the American Anti-slavery Society; nor of the abuse to which its supporters have been exposed in America, because they would neither turn aside to the right hand or the left, from the great principle and purpose of their association. The slavery of America is a great religious, social, and political wrong, and the American Anti-slavery Society includes men of every religious sect, of every social grade, of every political hue, that say they are ready to aid in the removal of the wrong. The very fact that it embraces men of varied belief on all other topics, is a guarantee that its platform can never become sectarian, or its action ineffective. I have no confidence in any anti-slavery society in America that has a different constitution or any other platform. If we are to have anything to do with America at all, (and we dare not cease to have to do with her,) we can only have to do with a society that comes forward with the character and claims of the American Anti-slavery Society. It is no upstart or untried agency. You have to view its character by years of labor,—untiring labor in the cause of the slave—labor amidst the vilest abuse and the most active persecution. It has not burst into life when controversy became popular. It has been maligned

* The well-known names of those friends of the slave in Glasgow, who were foremost in the abolition of British Colonial Slavery, will be found at this meeting (where the Female Anti-slavery Society's Report was adopted), renewing their cordial co-operation and sympathy with the American Anti-slavery Society. The Rev. Mr. Guthrie, and most of the ladies forming the New Association, have been hitherto unknown as abolitionists.

again and again in America, and the character of its able and active president, Mr. Lloyd Garrison, defamed; but where is the spot of infamy on the character of that just and good man, whom history will own as the pioneer in the great work of American independence?

"The American Anti-slavery Society is before the world. Did I need to ask confidence in it, or support towards the anti-slavery bazaar, I can appeal to its history, to its principles, and to unprejudiced testimony. If we are to think alike on all points before we agree to do anything on one point, co-operation for the removal of social evils is at an end. Here is a poor man drowning in the river, and ere I throw a rope to give a pull, I must ask his creed; and though certified of his limited Presbyterianism, I am scarcely able to withdraw him from the water. A stranger however approaches, and must I ask his creed ere I bid him take hold of the rope. . . . The American Anti-slavery Society is crying out 'All hands to the rope!' They are not for testing men's creeds, but testing their humanity, and their grand mission shall not have been accomplished until the evil of slavery is abolished from the world. Let us keep by the American Anti-slavery Society, and keep our bond of union as catholic as ever."

"Mr. W. WELLS BROWN, a fugitive slave, then addressed the meeting. He was always glad to have the opportunity of addressing a meeting of friends of the slave. The cause needed advocates. The pro-slavery party in America set aside no means that were presented for the advocacy of their views, or securing a colouring of respectability and countenance to them. There could be no great convention at which they would not have their representatives, whether it was an Evangelical Alliance, a World's Temperance Convention in London, or a Peace Congress in Paris or Frankfort. In these circumstances, the friends of the slave required to be united and earnest. He had been a paid agent of that (the American Anti-slavery) Society, but had ceased to be so for upwards of two years, and could therefore be impartial. He was connected with no society now; nevertheless he always felt it his duty to recommend that society. The reason why so much was said against it, and against its president, was that they exposed the conduct of churches and theological institutions of America. Having read advertisements, notifying the sale of slaves belonging to doctors of divinity and theological seminaries, he went on to say it was because Mr. Garrison had exposed such conduct on the part of clergymen and churches, that he had been branded as an infidel."

"Mr. W. CRAFT, a fugitive slave, reiterated the statements made by Mr. Brown as to the services of Mr. Garrison to the anti-slavery cause, and the confidence entertained in him. He was the first white man that had shown him kindness in Boston. To his labours and efforts he ascribed much of the comfort and security which the negro population enjoyed there. His private opinions on other points he did not care for. He had never been false to the anti-slavery cause, but had persevered through obstacles that would have affrighted other men. He had been mobbed and dragged about the streets by ropes, and even had a gallows erected opposite his own house, on which it was meant to have hung him. No coloured man whose heart was right could ever think of Mr. Garrison but with emotions of gratitude."

"The Rev. Mr. SCOTT moved, 'That believing the American Anti-slavery Society to be still the most efficient for enlightening and changing the public opinion of America; to be composed of men, the earliest, the most devoted, and talented abolitionists there, who thoroughly have the confidence of the coloured population; we renew our expression of sympathy and co-operation with that society, and will continue to aid it as hitherto through the medium of the Boston Bazaar.' JOHN KNOX, Esq. seconded the resolution, which, like the others, was passed unanimously."

NEW YORK MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The last Anniversary meeting of the American Anti-slavery Society commenced in the Tabernacle, New York, on the 7th of May, 1850, with the fullest possible attendance. The preliminary services went off without disturbance, and it was sometime before a disorderly crew present found occasion to interfere. These were headed by Captain Isaiah Rynders of the Empire Club, an association of rufians which seem to have superseded the functions of the magistracy of New York. At last, it was the statement of Mr. Garrison that President Taylor was a Christian that produced the first interference of the leader of the mob. The meeting in the evening was disturbed by a body of disorderly men near the door and in the passages, which prevented the speeches from being heard. The next morning the Society met in the same place. But Captain Rynders and his patriotic band were also there, and better instructed in his duty than the day before, so the meeting broke up without transacting any of its business; and were obliged to retire to a private house for this purpose.

AGAINST.

British Banner, Feb. 11, 1852.

We have been favored with the following from as true a friend of the slave as treads the British soil, Mr. Robert Charleton.

"Bristol, Jan. 29, 1852.

"Respected friend,—The article in this week's *Banner* on the infidel school of American abolition is calculated, I think, to do good service in undeceiving the public on the question to which it refers. The evidence, however, of Garrison's personal opinions presented in that article, is not nearly so strong as it might have been made. I enclose for thy perusal an extract from W. L. Garrison's speech at New York, in May, 1850, in which infidelity is much more broadly and explicitly avowed than in the extracts of the *Banner*, and being delivered many years later, it derives additional value from the fact that it shows that Garrison's opinions have not been modified but only confirmed since his lectures in 1844. I am, respectfully,

"ROBERT CHARLETON."*

"We are abundantly supplied with facts up to the latest period, showing that in the Garrison school there has been no reform, but, as Mr. Charlton says, an advance upon its previous attainments.

"Mr. Garrison's friends will take himself at least as good evidence in his own cause."

From the New York Observer's report of Mr. Garrison's speech.

"Various religious bodies have various

FOR.

The *Liberator* of May 17, 1850, contains the New York Herald's report of the Annual Meeting, from which the *Observer* copies its account. The following are a portion of Mr. Garrison's corrections.

"Every reflecting person will readily perceive that no reliance is to be placed upon the reports of the speeches at the late meetings, as given through the medium of such mob-exciting journals as *Bennett's Herald* and the *Globe*. They have purposely caricatured and misrepresented the abolitionists as a matter of course.

"The *Herald* represents me as saying 'The magnetic telegraph has done more for the slave and for man than all the discussions about religion since the world began.' I said nothing about the slave, or about religion, (using the word in its vital sense) in that connection. Also, 'The Sabbath observance will damn this nation as it did the Jews of old.' My language was that the dogma was everywhere inculcated from the pulpit, that the safety, prosperity, and permanence of this republic depended on a strict observance of the Sabbath, whereas the Jewish nation was never so scrupulous in this very observance as before its final overthrow; no outward religious ordinances could save a people; nothing but justice, mercy, and righteousness."

"What I said at New York was comprehensively this: 'that the popular tests of piety in this nation were of no significance, and prove nothing of love to God or man,

* Mr. Charleton had been supplied with a copy of the *Liberator* of Sept. 19th, 1851, containing Mr. Garrison's latest disavowal of infidelity: but he prefers the testimony of the *New York Observer*, possibly being ignorant of its pro-slavery character. These extracts from that paper were first printed in England in the *Bristol Examiner*, and were sent by Dr. Elton, formerly a professor in one of the New England colleges, in reply to the enquiry of a brother minister, "what evidence is there that Garrison and his party are anti-social and anti-christian?" The *Observer*, a "religious journal," copies its report of the anti-slavery meeting at New York (including the remark on the thrill of horror excited at Mr. Garrison's blasphemy) from *Bennett's Herald*, the most violent of the pro-slavery papers, which, by its inflammatory articles during the preceding week, had successfully instigated a brutal mob to break up the assembly, endangering the lives of Frederick Douglass and other prominent abolitionists.—See the New York press for May, 1850, or the anti-slavery papers into which these articles are copied.

The *New York Observer*, a vehement pro-slavery paper, styled in the *Banner* "that very respectable journal," and in the *Bristol Examiner* of November 1, 1851, "the decided friend of the slave," is the organ of the Old School Presbyterians, noted for their support of slavery. Its editor, Mr. Sydney Morse, at the Evangelical Alliance in 1846 urged the *unconditional* admission of slaveholders as members. In 1836, the *Observer*, by inflaming popular feeling and circulating calumnies against the abolitionists, was instrumental in causing the murder of Lovejoy, editor of an anti-slavery paper. Lovejoy had in vain implored the editor to desist from his attacks. The Rev. Dr. Nelson, late President of the Literary and Theological Institution at Illinois, who had been for many years a slave-holder, thus speaks of the *Observer*, "Of all northern periodicals, the *New York Observer* must have the preference as an efficient support of slavery. I am not sure but it does more than all things combined to keep the dreadful system alive. It is just the succour demanded of the South. Its abuse of the abolitionists is music in Southern ears which operates like a charm. But nothing is equal to its harping upon the religious privileges of the slaves. And nothing could be so false and injurious to the cause of freedom and religion as the impression it gives on that subject. I solemnly affirm that, during the forty years of my experience in that line, I never heard a single sermon to slaves but what made obedience to the master by the slaves the fundamental and supreme law of religion."

AGAINST.

tests, and the time has come to see these dogmas disregarded, for tests are worth nothing in this age. Do you believe in the inspiration of the Bible? This test is worth nothing in this age, for it proves nothing. The depravity of man, the atonement, redemption by the blood of Christ, and other kindred doctrines are worthless tests. The magnetic telegraph has done more for the slave and for man, than all the discussions about religion since time began.

"The sabbath observances will damn this nation as it did the Jews of old, for they never observed it so religiously as before their doom. . . . In this country Jesus, has become obsolete. . . . Jesus sits in the President's chair of the United States. Zachary Taylor sits there, which is the same thing, for he believes in Jesus."

British Banner, Feb. 11, 1852.

"In the view of Mr. Garrison, discussions about religion and religion itself are identical.

"That very respectable journal, the *Observer*, intimates that 'great sensation was produced, and a thrill of horror seemed to run through the assembly at these blasphemous remarks.'

"Lest it be said that we are committed to be the resolute and unscrupulous opponents of this impious man, we shall adduce on the present occasion the testimony of a well-known and most zealous opponent of slavery, and who has been such for the last five and twenty years, the Rev. Dr. Hague of Boston. That gentleman has often come forth in an excellent journal, the *Christian Watchman and Reporter*,* [Reflector?] as warm and potent an advocate as the slave possesses, for half a life time. Dr. Hague thus expresses himself:—

"The proceedings at the recent meeting of the American anti-slavery society justify the strong language which some of our religious and secular contemporaries in that city use, to express their disapprobation of the speech of Mr. Garrison. When his remarks were first reported, it was difficult to believe they had been made, such was their indecency, their profanity, their marked defiance of all that is good, beautiful, and exalting in

FOR.

because the offence of the cross has ceased, and it is everywhere safe and reputable to embrace them.' I said 'that a profession of faith in Jesus now costs nothing; for his praises are everywhere sung, and his deeds everywhere lauded; by none more loudly than by those who enslave and embrute their fellow-men; and therefore this is no longer a true test of piety.' Finally, I declared my belief in a Jesus who redeems, not enslaves; who binds up the broken-hearted, not crushes the weak; proclaiming liberty throughout all the land, not perpetuating human thralldom; the Jesus who lived and suffered eighteen hundred years ago."

In the Philadelphia Ledger is the following report of the Anti-slavery Meetings at New York.

"The misrepresentations of these meetings have been so general and so gross, as to make it necessary to publish a true statement of facts in reference to them. The following account was drawn up by a gentleman who is not a member of any anti-slavery society, but who occupies a high professional and social station in this city, and who was an eye and ear witness of what he describes. The account was originally intended for the private eye of a friend in Congress, but at the request of the writer of these lines, was altered into its present shape for the benefit of the public.

"The assembly was of the most respectable character. . . . Mr. Garrison began by inviting any one there present who might be so disposed to offer a prayer. Mr. H. Grew, a man of venerable aspect, rose in the body of the house, and uttered a prayer for the spirit and blessing of the God of the oppressed. Mr. Garrison then read from the Bible. His selections were most admirably adapted to the state of the country. . . . Next came the treasurer's report. Mr. Garrison then resigned the chair to Mr. F. Jackson of Boston, and proceeded to address the assembly. He began by stating that the members of the anti-slavery society regarded the anti-slavery cause as emphatically the Christian movement of the day. Nothing could be more explicit than his recognition of the truth and divine authority of the Christianity of the

* In the Reports of the Baptist Mission Board, of which Dr. Hague is a member, will be seen his uniform suppression of anti-slavery action in his denomination, his recognition of slave-holders and their missionaries as Christians and ministers of Christ, his encouragement to the admission of those slaveholding influences in the Triennial Convention, which in 1841 caused the secession on anti-slavery grounds of the Baptist Free Mission Society.—See *Baptist Magazine*, also "Facts for Baptist Churches," published by the Free Mission Society. The *Christian Watchman and Reporter* (Reflector?) vigorously opposes all ecclesiastical anti-slavery action, and effectually subserves slaveholding interests. It has followed up every successful attempt of Rev. A. J. Foss and others to induce Baptist associations to speak out against slavery, by brow-beating articles; it circulates false and calumnious charges against the Free Mission Baptists, and aims in every possible way to neutralize their anti-slavery labours.—See its own columns, and those of the *American Baptist*.

purport. Some of the city papers misrepresent them most grossly and wickedly. You know how often and how widely I have differed from Mr. Garrison, and how utterly I repudiate his disunion doctrines; but neither my convictions nor my prejudices shall, if I can help it, render me unjust. He bore himself nobly in the Tabernacle."

Letter from Mr. John G. Whittier, the celebrated American poet, to the Editor of the Liberator.

"Amesbury, 13th of Fifth Month, 1850.

"Dear friend Garrison—I have just laid down a New York paper, giving the disgraceful details of the outrage upon free speech at your late meeting; and I cannot resist the inclination to drop a line to thee, expressive of my hearty sympathy with thee. We have not always thought alike in respect to the best modes of promoting the anti-slavery cause, and perhaps we differ now as widely as ever. But when the right to advocate emancipation in *any* shape is called in question, it is no time to split hairs. W. Phillips, F. Douglass, and thyself were assailed; not because of any peculiarities of opinion which you may entertain on other subjects, but because you were abolitionists, and practical believers in the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence. So understanding it, I thank you for your perseverance and firmness in vindicating rights dear to us all.

"With esteem and sympathy,

"I am very truly thy friend,

"JOHN G. WHITTIER."

The Hamilton Madison Co. Journal, after reporting this New York meeting, remarks:—

"The orthodox religious press of New York is signalizing itself by uniting with *Bennett's Herald* and other mob organs in their abuse of the abolitionists. The *New York Recorder*, a Baptist paper, calls the anti-slavery society 'an infamous organization.' The *Syracuse Recorder*, a Presbyterian sheet, has the effrontery to say 'that the anti-slavery meeting should have been closed by the police, and Garrison treated as any other instigator of a riot.' Language such as this is an open justification of the outrages of the mob. It is an earnest that 'the pious and respectable portion of the community' will wink at any measures which will prevent these '*fanatics*' from expressing sentiments so dangerous to the church. It is for this reason that the course of the religious press cannot be too strongly reprobated by every friend of freedom and fair speech."

AGAINST.

religion. Paine's anathemas were ethical maxims compared with Garrison's fulminations. How professing Christians, with a particle of sincerity or self-respect, could listen to them, is to us inexplicable on any other ground than a possible conviction in their minds that the speaker was a madman, whose blasphemies were so palpable that none could be deluded by them. And this is the man who undertakes to lead off a great reform movement, who arrogates to himself and the few that uphold him all the humanity of the age! It is not for us to deal with the motives of those who encourage, by their presence and sympathies, these worse than infatuations. . . . Slavery never can be abolished if the despotism of evil is to take its place. If the fate of three millions in bondage depended upon the efforts of Garrison, eaten up as he is with hostility to the noblest of our free institutions, one might well despair. The recent attempt to read the Bible out of existence, and to sap the foundation of religion—and this as an essential element in the abolition reform—will throw the true cause of emancipation back everywhere, unless Christian philanthropists see to it that they have no part nor lot in the promotion of those excesses to which we have referred. Emancipation is a Christian not an infidel enterprise, and it can only be achieved upon Christian principles. Let those who unwittingly aid and abet the aberrations of misguided atheism, as Garrisonianism assuredly is, reflect that by so doing they aim a deadly blow at the reform they seek to effect."

'infidel' in an evil sense (as is falsely alleged) of that term, and the special embodiment in this country of whatsoever is loyal to God and benevolent to man, and that in view of the palpable enormity of slavery—of the religious and political professions of the people—of the age in which we live, blazing with the concentrated light of many centuries—indifference or hostility to this movement indicates a state of mind more culpable than was manifested by the Jewish nation in rejecting Jesus as the Messiah, eighteen hundred years ago."

A correspondent in the Hartford Republican writes:—

"Yesterday morning I attended the meeting of the American Anti-slavery Society. Mr. W. Lloyd Garrison first took the floor. His object was to show that the slave's only hope of deliverance was in the American Anti-slavery Society. Neither the Church nor State would do the work, for both were in league with slavery. He regarded sympathy in the anti-slavery movement as a better test of character than assent to any popular theological dogma. In fact, an avowal of belief in the Bible, in Christian ordinances, in the sanctity of the Sabbath, the Divinity of Christ, &c., were not tests, simply because these things were all very popular, and were compatible with impurity of heart and tyranny of conduct. This portion of his address was able and argumentative; but its leading idea was not a novel one. I have heard precisely the same doctrine preached from orthodox pulpits ever since I first saw an orthodox pulpit. Yet from Mr. Garrison's lips it will be put down as the rankest infidelity. Watch the papers, and see if it be not so. Fortunately I sat immediately adjoining the platform, and heard him very distinctly; and though I regard some of his forms of expression as unhappily chosen, I yet failed to detect anything like infidelity in his remarks.

"There was much interruption during this portion of Mr. Garrison's remarks, and those who only caught a sentence here, and half a sentence there, might innocently mistake their

FOR.

New Testament. He went on to examine the popular tests of religion, and to show their defectiveness. In so doing, his manner was grave and dignified; there was no bitterness, no levity. His manner of speaking was simple, clerical, and Christian. If there was a lack of good taste in Mr. Garrison's phrases, I should despise myself if I were to stop and pick flaws in a man devoted to the cause of the wronged, while I overlooked or extenuated the wrong of slave-holding. Mr. Garrison said great importance was attached to a belief in Jesus; and yet this faith had no vitality, no practical bearing on conduct and character . . . that Zachary Taylor believed in Jesus, and yet was not deterred from buying and selling slaves.

"The distinction which Mr. Garrison made between true and false religion was so apparent, throughout the whole course of his remarks, so fully and reverently did he recognize and imply throughout, the divine authority of the Jesus of the New Testament, that no one present thought of charging him with blasphemy then, although his remarks have been so reported that the community is horrified at Mr. Garrison's infidelity! The thing which Rynders seized upon as a pretext (for interrupting the meeting) was not blasphemy, but an alleged insult to the President."

Anti-slavery Standard, May 23, 1850.

"The following resolution was offered by Mr. Lloyd Garrison at the close of his speech at the Broadway Tabernacle: 'That the Anti-slavery movement, instead of being

is truly Christian, in the primitive meaning

"New York, May 8, 1850.

W. Lloyd Garrison first took the floor. His object was to show that the slave's only hope of deliverance was in the American Anti-slavery Society. Neither the Church nor State would do the work, for both were in league with slavery. He regarded sympathy in the anti-slavery movement as a better test of character than assent to any popular theological dogma. In fact, an avowal of belief in the Bible, in Christian ordinances, in the sanctity of the Sabbath, the Divinity of Christ, &c., were not tests, simply because these things were all very popular, and were compatible with impurity of heart and tyranny of conduct. This portion of his address was able and argumentative; but its leading idea was not a novel one. I have heard precisely the same doctrine preached from orthodox pulpits ever since I first saw an orthodox pulpit. Yet from Mr. Garrison's lips it will be put down as the rankest infidelity. Watch the papers, and see if it be not so. Fortunately I sat immediately adjoining the platform, and heard him very distinctly; and though I regard some of his forms of expression as unhappily chosen, I yet failed to detect anything like infidelity in his remarks.

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